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STATESMANSHIP IN THE GOLD COAST

THE decision to hold a General Election in the Gold Coast is very welcome. The deep division which has developed during the last eighteen months between the Convention Peoples' Party and the National Liberation Movement has endangered what was expected to be a smooth transfer of power during this year. It would have been tragic for independence in the Gold Coast to be followed immediately by civil war between these contending factions. It would have been equally tragic for the British Government to postpone independence because of a division in Gold Coast opinion. A General Election on the considered proposals for the new constitution was the only genuine democratic method of breaking the impasse.

Now that the Togoland plebiscite has been completed and has shown that a decisive majority of the inhabitants desire to join the Gold Coast, the last major obstacle to independence has been overcome, and the way has been cleared for the Gold Coast people to take a clear decision on the form of constitution under which they desire to live in an independent national state. The election will be fought on the constitutional proposals put forward by Dr. Nkrumah's Government after it had considered the report of Sir Frederick Bourne and the findings of the Achimota Conference. The N.L.M., which took part in neither of these investigations, has announced that it will submit its own alternative constitutional suggestions. There should, therefore, be clear alternatives before the electorate.

The acceptance of a General Election has made possible a solution to the Gold Coast problem. It is not, however, solved. The first necessity for a genuinely democratic solution is that the election must be held in circumstances which allow all

electors to vote according to their conviction, avoiding any other pressures or influences. The second is that all parties must fully accept the verdict of the electorate. The third is to develop a real spirit of compromise and toleration once the decision has been taken. (One also hopes that the United Nations will not fall into the temptation to divide Togoland in view of the majority in the South opposed to integration.)

The first condition is essentially the responsibility of the Governor and his forces, although it is also to be hoped that the political parties will fight the election in a truly democratic spirit. The second condition has been enormously enhanced by the statesmanlike speech of the Minister of Finance, Dr. K. A. Gbedemah, when he said in London:

‘If the C.P.P. is defeated we should be glad to see our opponents, the National Liberation Movement, take over. We should try to work effectively as an opposition party. If we are successful we hope they will do the same and respect the authority of the Legislature.’

If this principle is fully accepted by all parties it will mark a real step towards democratic maturity. The third provision must await the post-election period. The kind of attitude needed is a greater degree of conciliation on the part of the C.P.P. towards the strong traditional feelings in Ashanti and a readiness on the part of the N.L.M. to recognise the endeavours now being made by their opponents to destroy the corruption which is bound to appear in the early days of self-government.

Whatever the outcome of the election the people of the Gold Coast, including all forces, parties and regions, should now be convinced that Britain is genuinely anxious to see a new democratic, fully

independent Ghana state established as early as possible. The divisions which have appeared since the last election two years ago have saddened well-wishers in this country. They have equally endangered that most significant leadership which we hope the Gold Coast will give to the peoples of Africa. This division must be bridged, not by enforcing uniformity of outlook, but by establishing a recognition on both sides that people can differ in policy without necessarily becoming traitors to the nation. Dr. Nkrumah's Government has been courageous in agreeing to another election only two years after it received its last mandate. Its courage is warmly welcomed in this country. It can establish a new political situation in which understanding and accommodation between the opposing factions can be achieved. During the last five years the Gold Coast has set out on the exciting and significant task of proving that an African state can emerge from colonial rule and from tribalism and establish not only the machinery but the spirit of modern democracy. We salute their boldness and their achievements. We all look forward to their success in crossing this final ditch, which alone now separates them from full democratic nationhood and, we hope, from an active participation in the affairs of the multi-racial Commonwealth.

C.D.C. OUT OF THE RED

TO be out of the red is a desirable state, for individuals or corporations, and therefore one must start by congratulating C.D.C. on having made a profit for the first time. The profit in 1955 was £409,233 compared with a loss of £511,109 in 1954.

But having said this, misgivings creep in. Throughout its last annual report, serious questioning is apparent. The Corporation and the government do not see eye to eye on finance or, ultimately, on the true role of the C.D.C. The government refuses to allow the Corporation to deal as it wishes with the special losses incurred in the early years of the undertaking, which amount to about £8 million.

It means that C.D.C. is to be saddled in future with heavy interest payments, as the initial seven-year interest moratorium period has ended. To quote the report: 'Till C.D.C. has built up its own reserves there can be no let up, it would seem, on a strict profitability criterion for new jobs, however desirable.'

No one wants a return to the impulsive early days, but now that C.D.C. administration has been so much improved, it is surely folly to keep this millstone of old debt round the corporation's

neck. The burden is all the greater because C.D.C. suffers like all other public bodies from mounting interest rates. It has to pay full Treasury borrowing rates, which have gone up five times in the past 18 months. There is no margin for what C.D.C. itself wants to do, namely, to keep most of its projects on a 'profitability' basis, but from time to time to 'undertake work of great potential benefit but more than doubtful profitability, such expenditure to be separately recorded and results judged on other than a profit basis.' The staff and experience at the command of C.D.C. make them particularly suited for such work.

The need to co-ordinate with Colonial Development and Welfare is stressed. In one field legal difficulties have been met. Government lawyers have ruled that loans for housing and road making in Malaya, Singapore, Kenya, Central and West Africa are not 'projects' and are *ultra vires* under the Overseas Resources Development Act. Urgent legal action is needed to put this right and allow interrupted work to go on. The government has promised this but has not yet moved.

SINGAPORE BREAKDOWN

THE Government's policy on strategic colonies has now become clear. Singapore joins Cyprus and Aden in the list of colonies where dependent peoples cannot achieve freedom because their home is regarded as essential to our defence strategy. Lord Attlee urged that the Government was losing the ideological battle in South-east Asia, sacrificing the substance for the shadow by insisting on safeguards which antagonised nationalist feeling. The Singapore breakdown came on the chairmanship of the Defence and Security Council. Mr. Marshall and his delegation were prepared to accept a Chairman of the Council appointed by the Government of the Federation of Malaya, but were not prepared to concede the majority on the Council on which Mr. Lennox-Boyd insisted and which they maintained would make a mockery of self-government. What next? The Labour Front coalition Government has not declared its policy. Lee Kuan Yew, the leader of the People's Action Party, has demanded fresh elections, stating that if his Party wins, they will refuse to work the constitution and members would be sworn in as Ministers only to discuss with the Governor full self-government. The Governor may refuse a fresh election and invite the Liberal-Socialist (Conservative) Party, holding six out of the 25 elected seats in the Assembly, to form a government. They would face a formidable opposition both inside the Assembly and from the trade unionists and Chinese students.

A New Step in British Guiana

By the Rt. Hon. HILARY MARQUAND, M.P.

AFTER the suspension of the constitution in the autumn of 1953 the Governor of British Guiana ruled the territory with the advice of an Interim Legislative Council consisting entirely of nominated members. In November, 1954, the Secretary of State announced that this Council's term of office would not extend beyond the end of 1957. After subsequent questioning by Labour Members, he made it clear that if the situation improved new arrangements would be made before then. On April 25th, 1956, Mr. Lennox-Boyd announced that a new constitution is to be established. Soon this will provide for a Legislative Council composed of twelve elected members, four officials and *not more than* eight nominated members, and for an Executive Council. Details are not known at the time of writing, but the new proposals will be laid before Parliament and will undoubtedly be debated.

Sir Patrick Renison, who was Governor of British Honduras when the People's United Party swept the polls in 1954 and who successfully presided over the introduction of a modified ministerial system in that territory, has been Governor of British Guiana for about a year. He announced the new proposals in Georgetown on the same day as the Secretary of State did so in London. His was a remarkable speech. Much of it was devoted to a condemnation of communism, not for its economic policies, but for its denial of individual liberty. For that reason alone, 'the British Government remains firmly resolved in its refusal to run any risk of allowing a communist state to be created in British Guiana!' At the same time he criticised 'what seems to me the selfishness which blocks the balance and progress of our society. I find in too many places where people can be looked upon as rivals too great a prevalence of an ungenerous, unneighbourly, personal outlook, and too much of the envy, malice and frustration of effort which it breeds. . . . I might welcome communism if it were only concerned with uncovering social evils.' Elsewhere in the speech he said: 'If I were a Guianese, I expect I should be an ardent nationalist. I am sure we need ardent nationalists, whom the people trust and whose feet are on the ground, to give the spark which will set alight the real development of the country.' He hinted that in favourable circumstances he would not use his discretion to prevent elected members from having a majority in the Legislative Council: 'Whoever is elected, I shan't be shy in taking risks, nor in correcting things if they go too far wrong.'¹

Mr. Norman Manley, Socialist Chief Minister of Jamaica, said: 'I am more pleased that I can say that a move to restore constitutional liberties and

political life is about to be made.' He hoped that the people there would recognise the merit of the two-party system.²

It was the division of their opponents into many splinter groups which gave the P.P.P. an overwhelming majority at the election of 1953. In 1956 the P.P.P. itself is split into two factions: one under Mr. and Mrs. Jagan, expressing its views in *Thunder*; the other under Comrade Leader Burnham, whose organ is called *P.P.P. Thunder*. It seems that Mr. Burnham and his group are free from restriction of movement, while the Jagans and their leading supporters are still restricted by order to defined districts. The National Democratic Party under Mr. John Carter has made less headway than it hoped to do two years ago; and its chances at the polls cannot have been improved by the action of the Mayor of Georgetown, the well-known barrister, Mr. Lionel Luckhoo, in launching 'a movement bigger than Party, dedicated to Service'³ called the National Labour Front. It is clear that no group can achieve political success in B.G. without substantial support from the workers on the sugar plantations and industries. Perhaps it is significant that Mrs. Janet Jagan writes in *Thunder* that 'Our trade union leaders today in Guiana have allowed themselves to be fooled and tricked into a position of lethargy.'⁴ Readers of *Venture* will know that the British T.U.C. has a resident adviser in B.G.

Leaders' Reactions

Mr. Burnham declares that Guianese 'do not know' since they have never experienced it, whether communism is an evil system, and they must not be deceived by irrelevancies. They must struggle to remove the evils they do know in their own country. The new proposals are 'mere window dressing': and 'this is a darker hour in our history than that of October 9th, 1943.'⁵ To Mrs. Jagan, the new proposals are a 'farce' and 'we are to be forced to endure now not an open but a disguised dictatorship.'⁶ Mr. John Carter declared that it would have been better to have had a more liberal constitution so that the opponents of the extremists would have had no excuse for complacency or evasion of their responsibilities. That seems to be good sense. Whatever be done, the results of the election are bound to be inconclusive if leaders of Parties do not all have freedom to visit all constituencies during the Election.

² *Trinidad Guardian*, April 27th, 1956.

³ Vol. 1, No. 1, of *The Crusader*, Georgetown, April 29th, 1956.

⁴ *Thunder*. ⁵ *P.P.P. Thunder*, April 28th, 1956.

⁶ *Thunder*, April 28th, 1956.

Somaliland—a Neglected Colony

IT was in 1884 that British administration first reached Somaliland with the welcome by the tribal leaders of the Protectorate of Mr. Hunter, a political officer of Her Majesty's Government. But when in December last I travelled widely at the invitation of the National United Front of the Somali Elders and People, meeting the Sultans and their people and the Governor and his officials, I discovered that in 70 years no Member of Parliament had visited the Protectorate!

The Somalis—altogether now almost three million—came from Arabia to the Horn of Africa in early times. They later became Moslems and spread out to Kenya. They are a nomadic people moving their vast herds of camels, sheep and goats at different seasons over this arid land. And here lies the basis of the present Ethiopian boundary dispute.

In 1897, the British Government was fighting the Mahdi in the Sudan, and to gain the goodwill of Abyssinia we gave her one-third of the Protectorate in the Haud and Ogaden. The Somalis knew nothing of this for some 40 years, during which there was no administration in the frontier no-man's-land where tribes at odds with the British could find refuge. The Italian conquest brought harsh but competent administration where none was before. After the Italian defeat the Haud and Reserved Area—including Ethiopia up to Harar—came under British military administration, and it was only in 1948 that the Colonial Office took over.

All this time the Somalis had never lost their sense of unity. They are a distinct ethnic group—holding fast to their Moslem faith—and intensely jealous of their past traditions. Their sons go off as seamen to Barry Dock or Brooklyn but come back home with their political consciousness stimulated. They dislike the Amharic imperialists of the High Plateaux, and long for the day of a United Somalia State, as suggested by Ernest Bevin when Foreign Secretary but turned down by the United Nations.

Rightly or wrongly the Somalis were made to believe that their territory would not pass to Ethiopia. Hence in January, 1955, when this happened, they lost confidence in the British Government.

The Ethiopians argue they have been generous in conceding that a British liaison officer, with three assistants, and police (*illatos*) shall be stationed at Jig Jigga to watch over the interests of Somali herdsmen as they graze in Ethiopian territory. Where disputes involving Ethiopians are concerned, these go to Ethiopian courts; but if Somalis are involved, cases go to British courts.

But relations have become delicate and difficult: in my view the Ethiopians are not working the agreements of the 1954 White Paper, either in the letter or in the spirit. I say this after close examination on the spot and many conversations with officials and tribesmen, including Mohammed Bogorreh (chief local authority of Hargeisa) when he was in Harar Prison. Since then, while awaiting his final appeal,

the Ethiopians have taken him secretly to Addis Ababa and sentenced him there, with no defending counsel. In addition, he has not been allowed a European judge, which is a violation of the Anglo-Ethiopian agreement.

Again, contrary to the 1954 Agreement, the Ethiopians are claiming as their citizens all British Somali herdsmen who begin to cultivate the slightest patch of millet. These they term 'sedentary'; and they are now claiming those nomads who spend more than six months over the boundary line.

During my visit, a five-week conference on this situation was held at Harar, but achieved little. It is my belief that a top-level conference at Addis Ababa is essential, and Mr. Dodds Parker, Under-Secretary of State, has now flown out there for the Foreign Office.

Development Needed

Conditions in the Protectorate interior cause grave anxiety, for since January, 1955, inter-tribal fighting has caused the loss of 250 lives. There is a lack of grazing and water and of tribal authority. There is need for more *illatos* to keep discipline and stop the traffic in arms. Water development is essential; more holes must be bored and soil erosion checked.

The Somali Elders have been given insufficient powers in local administration; there must be less centralisation in the hands of District Commissioners. Tribal incidents need to be settled quickly on the spot, and tribesmen on the borders must be disarmed.

Colonial Development and Welfare Funds for medicine and education must be increased. Hargeisa has a welcome new hospital, but there is no lady doctor in what is a Moslem society. Education needs liberal expansion. There are only 18 Somalis receiving higher education in the United Kingdom, but some 250 from Italian Somalia studying in Cairo University. There is only one boys' secondary school and only one girls' elementary school in the whole of Somaliland Protectorate.

What is the outlook then for Somaliland? In 1960 Italian Somalia, now under United Nations Trusteeship, will gain independence. As the British Somalis undoubtedly wish to unite with them, we must give all help we can to equip them for this. There will also be an attempt to link with French Somalis in Djibouti—a port and railhead for Ethiopia. What will be the feelings then of Ethiopian Somalis in the Haud and Reserved Area?

There is serious trouble now, and no one can look forward to 1961 with equanimity, for large-scale disturbances can easily occur. A flare up in the Horn of Africa could precipitate a situation similar to that now existing between Israelis and Arabs.

It would appear to be in the interest of Ethiopia, no less than Great Britain, to reach an immediate settlement of this unfortunate dispute.

JAMES JOHNSON, M.P.

Growth of Co-operatives in Tanganyika*

By R. C. H. RISLEY

Deputy Commissioner for Co-operative Development

THE Co-operative Societies' Ordinance, which makes provision for the constitution and regulation of co-operative societies, became law in 1932 and the first co-operative societies in Tanganyika were registered in the following year. These were the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union, Ltd., and eleven primary societies affiliated to the union: the members of these societies were Chagga coffee growers on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro.

Although these societies prospered, the growth of the Co-operative movement remained slow for some years, and by 1949 there were only 80 societies with some 60,000 members. During these years the Registrar's staff was small and his duties were confined to supervising and guiding such societies as had been registered. It was not until 1951 that he was accorded the additional title of Commissioner for Co-operative Development and, with an increased staff, assumed the responsibility for fostering the movement and finding new fields for co-operation. Since then the movement has got into its stride and today there are more than 300 co-operative societies with a total membership approaching a quarter of a million.

In a country where most of the population are agriculturists, and where rural indebtedness is virtually unknown, it is natural that the greater number of these co-operatives should be produce-marketing societies. In the 1954-55 harvest some £10,000,000 worth of produce was handled by these societies. Of this the larger proportion was coffee, for almost all the coffee grown in Tanganyika, whether by African or other races, whether hard or mild, is co-operatively marketed.

The K.N.C.U. now has 34 affiliated societies, with some 35,000 members, and markets on its own auctions an annual crop of 6,000 tons of Arabica coffee. Its new headquarters is an imposing building which includes a fine library, hotel accommodation, shops, offices and a roof garden. The union also has interests in a coffee curing works, maintains its own school and is building a new commercial school for all races. The Bukoba Native Co-operative Union, Ltd., with over 50 affiliated societies, markets an annual crop of 12,000 tons of coffee, mostly Robusta. It owns the majority of shares in one of the two coffee curing works which process the members' coffee. These two unions recently sent representatives to America on a successful goodwill coffee mission to widen their marketing contacts.

The same pattern of co-operation, primary marketing societies affiliated to unions which undertake the processing and marketing of their members' products, is repeated in the Southern Province, where the

Ngoni-Matengo Native Co-operative Union, Ltd., has built its own tobacco factory, and in Tukuyu, where the Rungwe African Co-operative Union, Ltd., owns the controlling shares in a rice mill. In the Lake Province, co-operative cotton marketing follows the same pattern; there are over a 100 societies, and nine unions which have been formed into a federation and are in process of erecting their own cotton ginnery.

Other societies market maize, mixed produce, vegetables, pyrethrum and mica. The latter is produced by African miners, who have long been associated with the industry, and have recently completed a successful first year as a co-operative society.

Many societies provide their members with thrift and some with credit facilities, the latter chiefly for the purchase of agricultural requisites. Useful work is also performed by the comparatively young Tanganyika Co-operative Trading Agency, Ltd., in supplying goods to, and marketing produce for, those societies which are affiliated to it; wide extension of these services is envisaged.

It has never been the Government's policy to give financial help to societies, and loans, which they need for crop finance, building, or other development, are obtained from commercial sources. During the past year certificates of maximum liability approved by the Registrar for such loans amounted to £4,000,000. Reserves and assets amounted to £1,500,000 and £4,000,000 respectively.

The Co-operative movement has made most progress in those areas where the general level of education is highest; both the Department of Co-operative Development and co-operative societies give closest attention to the furtherance of education. The initial education in co-operation is provided by officers of the department who, while they take no part in the actual running or business management of any society, are always at hand to guide, advise and instruct. The East African School of Co-operation, which is maintained by the Governments of Tanganyika, Kenya, and Uganda, near Nairobi, provides courses for the employees of the societies and for the Departmental Inspectorate staff. A number of these attend the Co-operative College at Loughborough for further studies. Correspondence courses on co-operation, particularly on the book-keeping aspect, have also proved useful. Apart from direct contributions made by societies for school maintenance and the provision of overseas scholarships, there has been an increase in study-tours made by societies' committeeen and employees.

The slow start which the Co-operative movement made in Tanganyika has not been without benefit. The first societies were firmly founded and afforded the experience which has made possible the present rapid extension of the movement on sound economic lines.

* Reprinted by kind permission of the *Manchester Guardian—East African Supplement*, April 24th, 1956.

PROGRESS TOWARDS SEL

I WISH to address the Council on the subject of elections, in which you as representatives of the people of Uganda are deeply interested. The Government welcomes this interest and has itself been studying the question of elections for some months. When the Council debated the question last January, there was general agreement by Honourable Members that the aim should be to introduce direct elections to Legislative Council. But the great majority of Members, including a substantial majority on the representative side, voted against binding ourselves to the introduction of direct elections throughout the Protectorate in 1957. The Government took careful note of all that was said in the debate; the Council now has the right to expect a statement of policy from the Government. I and my Ministers have closely studied the whole subject, and I have been in consultation with the Secretary of State. The statement which follows sets out the policy of the Uganda Government on elections to Legislative Council and has the support of Her Majesty's Government.

Opportunity for Discussion

There will, I believe, be general agreement in the House that the objective of our policy must be to introduce direct elections on a common roll for the Representative Members of Legislative Council from all parts of the Protectorate. This will be a most important step. Before it can be taken many difficult practical problems will have to be solved; I will refer to some of them later. I believe that there will be wide support both in this House and throughout the country for the view of the Government that it would be most unwise to rush into this step without making sure that the public generally in the different parts of the country understands the problems involved and without giving an opportunity for full discussion throughout the country.

Time will be needed for this study and these discussions, and the Government is quite certain that for this reason it would be impossible to introduce a system of direct election on a common roll throughout the country for the elections to the next Legislative Council, which will take place at the end of next year.

At the same time the Government believes that by 1961, the year in which elections will take place for the next Legislative Council but one, the problems can be fully discussed in the different parts of the country and fully understood by the public. We also think that by that year there is likely to be a general desire throughout the country, except probably in Karamoja, for the introduction of direct elections to the Legislative Council on a common roll. It is

therefore the aim of our policy that if there is this general desire, direct elections of the Representative Members of Legislative Council on a common roll should be introduced in 1961, provided that arrangements for doing so can be recommended which are acceptable to Her Majesty's Government.

Some of the most important issues which will have to be studied and discussed are the qualifications and disqualifications for voters and candidates, the question whether women should have the vote and the appropriate method of securing adequate representation of the non-African communities under the common roll. There is also the question whether Karamoja should be represented in the Legislative Council in 1961 and, if so, whether special arrangements would have to be made for this. Before agreeing that a common roll should be introduced, Her Majesty's Government will require to be satisfied on all these points and will wish to be sure that the system includes provision which will secure adequate and effective representation of the non-African communities on the representative side of the Legislative Council under the common roll, whether by reservation of seats or in some other way.

The Government believes that the proper time for studying, discussing and settling these important and complicated issues will be the period of the next Legislative Council from 1958 to 1961. The Government accordingly proposes early in the life of the next Legislative Council to set up, in consultation with the Legislative Council, appropriate machinery for such study and discussion.

Direct Elections in Buganda

I now turn to the action to be taken in Buganda in 1957. Last year when the Lukiko agreed to the election of members to represent Buganda in the Legislative Council, it was arranged that elections should take place at once under a system which was designed to produce quick results. The Lukiko agreed to this on the understanding that Her Majesty's Government would arrange for a joint review by representatives of the Protectorate Government and the Kabaka's Government in 1957 of the system of election of the Buganda Representative Members of Legislative Council. All this is set out in Article 7 of the Buganda Agreement. Should the joint review which will be held next year show that there is a general desire in Buganda for direct elections at the end of 1957 for the five Representative Members for Buganda, this would provide an excellent opportunity of testing the method of direct election in preparation for the general examination throughout the country in the period between 1958 and 1961. Such an opportunity would be valuable not only to Buganda but to the country as a whole. . . .

I will now refer to the Members representing the

* Extracts from H.E. the Governor's speech to Legislative Council, April 24th, 1956.

GOVERNMENT IN UGANDA*

Eastern, Western and Northern Provinces. Since the aim is to introduce direct elections on a common roll in 1961 should there be a general desire for this, the Government believes that the right course for those Provinces in 1957 will be to leave the system as it is and to have members elected by the District Councils as at present. At the same time each District will be able to prepare for the general examination which will take place throughout the country in the period from 1958 to 1961 by local study and discussion of the problems involved.

Need for Training

The other Districts will be able to watch the results of the 1957 experiment in Buganda, if that is introduced. In Districts where direct election for District Councils has not so far been adopted, this might be introduced at the next convenient opportunity, if District Councils agree, and would itself provide a testing ground for direct election to Legislative Council in 1961. Much local discussion will clearly be needed, and I shall ask Provincial Commissioners and District Commissioners to take an early opportunity of discussing the whole procedure in the light of my statement with the Standing Committees of District Councils.

If direct elections on a common roll are introduced in 1961, this will be a positive step forward towards self-government. I have gained the impression lately from some speeches and press comments that certain sections of the public have misunderstood the statement in the Secretary of State's despatch of the 20th July that there will be no major changes in the Constitution until 1961, after which there will be a review, and the similar statement regarding Buganda in Article 11 of the Buganda Agreement. These statements seem to have been interpreted by some as meaning that self-government will be achieved in 1961. This is a wrong interpretation. These statements mean precisely what they say, that there will be no major change for six years and that the position will then be reviewed. Such changes as may be agreed in 1961 will be a step towards self-government; but 1961 has in no sense been accepted as a target date for self-government...

Self-government cannot be a reality in any country unless it has men and women who can effectively run its political institutions, its civil service, its local government bodies, its professions and its economic life; the last is particularly important, as on its economic progress the whole development of a country depends. To a considerable extent a self-governing country can hope to obtain technical, professional, economic and administrative help from outside; but not beyond a certain limit. Beyond that limit it must rely on its own men and women. Can those who have been pressing for early self-government put their hands on their hearts and say that this country

already has, or will have in the near future, enough trained and experienced men and women?

The Government has concentrated particularly in recent years on education and training in all its forms; we have made this the keystone of our policy. We have improved and expanded higher education, teacher training, secondary education and primary education. We have given Africans a much larger part on Boards, Committees, Councils and Corporations, and a very much larger part on the Legislative Council. We have made good progress in appointing Africans to the higher ranks of the Civil Service; we have introduced schemes for the training of civil servants overseas; we have established a Public Service Commission specially charged with the appointment, training and promotion of local men and women in the Civil Service. Through the policy we have adopted, Native Governments and Councils throughout the country have become more representative of the people. We have undertaken schemes for the training of local government and rural development staff, both centrally and locally. We have expanded and improved technical education and vocational and professional training in all their forms. We are pressing forward with agricultural education through farm institutes and in other ways; and we are helping the farmers to greater efficiency through the productivity programme. We are helping traders with advice, training, wholesale and transport services and better sites for their shops under the programme for the advancement of Africans in trade. We have greatly expanded the co-operative movement. We have brought Africans into the cotton and coffee processing industries and given them substantial help through loans to establish themselves in these industries.

A Strong Central Government

In all these fields remarkable progress has been made in the training of men and women for increased responsibilities. But to put it in its most sober terms, a very great deal remains to be done...

Equally essential is the building up of a strong Central Government. When self-government is achieved, a strong Central Government will be needed so that this country may take its place in the world, so that it may provide the people with the services and the life which they need and want and so that it may lead the country in further progress and development...

We respect your desire to move forward towards self-government. It is a sound and natural desire. At the same time we ask you to remember the part the Government is playing. To help you forward is the first and most important aim of Government policy. It is something more than the aim of our policy. It is the force and inspiration which drives the Government forward in its work.

Kenya—African Opinion

We print here a letter from Tom Mboya¹ to the Colonial Secretary

HAVING seen reports in the press of suggested constitutional reforms put forward by the European Elected Members of the Kenya Legislative Council, I cannot restrain myself from writing to you. I have no alternative but to do this as an individual, but I believe that my views are shared by the majority of Africans in Kenya.

My information, which is at the moment limited to what has been published in the English press, leads me to believe that the suggested reforms are a device to promote further European control in the Kenya Government. Firstly, the suggested reforms seek to maintain the status quo in so far as comparative representation of the various races in the Legislative Council is concerned. That is the principle of parity between European and non-European Members on the unofficial side is maintained. The effectiveness of the suggested increase in African representation is therefore nullified by the increase in the European and Asian representation. Thus it provides no solution to the African demand for more effective representation in comparison with the other two major races. The principle of parity between the European on the one hand, and the non-European on the other, is no longer acceptable to the Africans. There can be no justification for adhering to this pattern of parity in Kenya when Uganda and Tanganyika have already advanced so far beyond it.

Secondly, the suggestion affecting ministerial posts will only lead to increasing local European influence in the Legislative Council as well as in the Council of Ministers. The demand for more portfolios to be passed on to local Europeans is a device aimed at transferring power from the Colonial Office to the European-dominated Kenya Government. This is one of the main fears of many Africans today as they regard the Colonial Office as their main protection at the present time, when the balance of economic and political power is so much in favour of the European settlers.

Africans Without Organisation

Thirdly, there is no doubt in my mind that the European Elected Members are using the absence of effective African political opinion as an opportunity to consolidate their position of power and thus ensure for themselves effective control of the Kenya Government in the future. Whereas African political organisations have been banned throughout the Emergency, European political organisations have been left completely free to assemble, speak and act without restraint. Despite the improving conditions in the physical conflict in Kenya, regulations passed during this year, amending the Societies Ordinance,

go further to make it more difficult for Africans freely to organise effective political pressure even under the District Associations. Here I am referring to the Emergency Regulations, Societies Ordinance Amendments, published in January and March respectively.

The African Members of the Legislative Council, who are concerned in negotiations on suggested reforms, are handicapped at the present time by the fact that they have no organisations backing them. They, therefore, have no means of knowing whether their decisions represent the wishes of the African people. During the negotiations on the Lyttelton Plan in 1954 the African Members, unable to consult African opinion, did not as a body accept the proposals. Because one individual African Member felt he could take part in the new form of Government, however, the entire population was arbitrarily committed to the new constitution. Further amendments to this constitution have been made in recent months, despite the opposition of the majority of the African Legislative Council Members. This occurred when the majority of the African Members refused to agree to a suggestion to appoint Mr. Blundell as Minister for Agriculture. Although only two African Members out of six supported the proposal the amendment was made, and once again the African community was arbitrarily committed to something about which they were not even consulted.

My attitude to the suggested reforms should not be interpreted as opposition to reforms of any kind. I believe that there is urgent and great need for constitutional changes in Kenya, but these must seek to improve the relative position of the Africans. The African must have effective and adequate representation in the Legislative Council if there is to be any political stability in Kenya. These current European suggestions overlook that fact. I believe that European political demands in the past, and their interest to preserve the privileged position they now occupy, have directly contributed to the present conflict. It would be a great tragedy for Kenya's future if the Colonial Office were to accede to the current European proposals.

The existing legal limitations which make it impossible for me, or any other African, to speak on behalf of any national organisation will not, I hope, lead you to minimise the importance of the points raised in this letter.

I am sending to the Governor of Kenya, Sir Evelyn Baring, a letter identical to this one, and it is my intention to make it available to the public.

[The regulations² referred to limit political African organisation to a district, that is in effect a tribal basis and thereby render impossible the formation of

¹ Tom Mboya is Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour and is studying at Ruskin College, Oxford.

² Emergency (Societies) Regulations. Emergency (Societies) (Amendment), 1956.

African opinion on a nation-wide scale. Other considerations apart, this is in direct contradiction to the whole spirit of the recommendations of the recent Royal Commission. In addition, no person being a member of the Kikuyu, Embu or Meru tribes can be admitted to membership of any local Society which has political objectives. The only avenue through which members of these tribes can approach even this limited means of political expression is through the loyalty test. This test is part of the apparatus of registration for voting to be introduced in pending legislation to implement the Sessional Paper on the Coutts Report.

The regulations also aim to control societies whose membership is not exclusively African and societies which might pursue political objectives in practice though political purposes are not included in their constitutions. The Government obviously had the activities of such organisations as the Kenya Federation of Labour in mind.—Editor.]

European Policy

The European elected members of the Legislature have proposed constitutional changes which maintain the present parity whereby European unofficial members equal those of all other races. The plan is for ten new members to be elected on a regional basis as regional members, made up of five Europeans, two Africans, one Asian Muslim, one Asian non-Muslim and one Arab. The intention is that regional candidates should be persons prepared to cross the floor if offered ministerial appointment. They would be elected on the existing communal rolls.¹

Europeans and Asians will have two votes, one for a member to represent the constituency and one for a regional member, representing two or more constituencies.

There is also a proposal for two members, Europeans in the first instance, to be nominated by the board of commerce and industry and the board of Agriculture. The corporate members would also be available for ministerial appointments but would otherwise sit with the Opposition. Two additional African constituency members are also proposed. The European members hope to get another portfolio.

The Europeans hold the view that constituents are virtually disfranchised when an elected member joins the Government as a minister; they also consider that the Opposition is seriously weakened when elected members accept ministerial appointments.

The two main European parties contesting the elections in September are the United Country Party and the Federal Independence Party. Mr. Blundell, speaking at Njoro,² outlined the approach of the U.C.P. to Kenya's problems. He said, 'First, I believe firmly in the continuance of our own ideas and influence in this country; secondly, in the gradual development of a partnership between the races; and, lastly, on a mounting insistence upon the economic development of the country... It is likely that we

shall have a difficult time in dealing with an increasing flow of racial emotionalism—and I think this word is better than nationalism—among the African people.'

The Federal Independence Party is committed to a policy of provincial autonomy for the four races 'tempered with European guidance' for non-Europeans; all land as defined by the Carter Commission and set aside for European development to be irrevocably reserved for that purpose; no Asian Ministers or further Asian immigration; assistance to Africans and Arabs for economic and political development, education to remain mono-racial.³

Correspondence

To the Editor of VENTURE

FRANCHISE IN COLONIAL TERRITORIES

In your May issue you carried an article 'Franchise in Colonial Territories' which you suggested your readers may find useful for reference purposes. The information contained in the article, being an answer, in traditional terse parliamentary form, to a question framed in the negative, cannot be full. The section dealing with Western Nigeria in consequence needs clarification to be of full value for reference purposes and your readers may be interested in a fuller statement.

Electoral qualifications for parliamentary elections into the House of Assembly and for all Local Government elections in Western Nigeria are the same and are as follows:—

- (a) *Natives*: All natives of any particular electoral Division, irrespective of sex, can vote so long as they are 21 or older.
- (b) Natives of a particular electoral Division under the age of 21 but who are tax- or rate-payers (excluding electricity or water rates) can vote.
- (c) *Non-Natives*: Non-Natives can vote in the electoral Division in which they reside provided they can prove continuous residence for a period of not less than two years and they have paid tax or rates (excluding electricity or water rates) to any local government authority in the Division for at least two financial years preceding the election.

A Native is defined as a person born in any particular electoral Division or whose father was so born. In view of the parliamentary election taking place on May 26th in the Region, it may interest your readers to know that the electoral register just published for Western Nigeria contains two million electors on the roll out of a maximum possible three million and that women exceed men. This number is the largest for any territorial unit in the Federation of Nigeria—although of the three Regions Western Nigeria has the smallest population.—Yours, etc.

(Chief) M. E. R. OKORODUDU,
Commissioner for the Western Region
of Nigeria in the U.K.

10th May, 1956.

¹ The Times, April 13th, 1956.

² East Africa and Rhodesia, January 19th.

³ Kenya Weekly News, May 18th, 1956.

Questions in Parliament

Publications Prohibited in British Guiana. In reply to Mr. Allaun, Mr. Hare (Minister of State for the Colonies) said that the Colonial Secretary would not end the ban on taking political publications into British Guiana. Mr. Allaun asked if the Minister was aware that similar bans were in operation throughout the Caribbean and what possible objection he could take to such publications as 'The Motor Car Industry Faces Growing Crisis.' Mr. Hare replied that some time ago he had given Mr. Allaun a list of these publications, which were only 25 in number. He had been sympathetic to what he had said in his earlier question, and the Colonial Secretary had suggested to the Governor that it might be possible to work out means by which a list of these prohibited publications was shown to people when they were entering the Colony. (April 25th.)

Education in Northern Rhodesia. Mr. James Johnson asked if the Colonial Secretary was aware that there were only about ten Africans from Northern Rhodesia receiving higher education in the United Kingdom; and whether he was taking sufficient steps in expanding secondary education in this Protectorate so that there might be men and women candidates for the new multi-racial university of Central Africa. Mr. Hare replied that there were, in addition, 21 students at South African universities and four at Makerere. The Northern Rhodesian Government were vigorously adapting their educational policy so as to ensure that as many local Africans as possible gained admission to the new University College at the time of opening and in subsequent years. They were giving special priority to the education of girls. (April 25th.)

African Membership of Public Bodies in Northern Rhodesia. In reply to Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Colonial Secretary said that there was no Cotton Board in Northern Rhodesia and the Tobacco Board was now the responsibility of the Federal Government. The Maize Control Board consisted, as prescribed by law, of a chairman and up to five other persons appointed by the Government; no African had been appointed, but the interests of the African producers were looked after by the Director of Agriculture, who was chairman. (April 26th.)

Constitutional Changes in Kenya. Mrs. Irene White asked by what means it was proposed to consult Africans about the constitutional changes now being canvassed in Kenya, in view of the fact that no national political organisation of Africans was allowed. Mr. Lennox-Boyd replied that representatives of all races in the Legislative Council were considering proposals for changes in the composition of Legislative Council. He was confident that the African Representative Members of Legislative

Council had full access to African opinion on these matters. (May 2nd.)

Embargo on Export of Rubber from Malaya. Mr. Awbery asked if the Colonial Secretary was aware that approximately £400,000 worth of rubber had been purchased from Malaya by the Soviet Government; that the second cargo was now on its way to that country; and if he would now take steps to remove the embargo on the export of that commodity to China in order to assist the trade of Malaya. Mr. Hare replied that he knew of these purchases and shipments. As the House knew, the lists of embargoed goods were at present being reviewed, but Her Majesty's Government were not yet in a position to make a statement. (May 2nd.)

Deepwater Harbour at Bridgetown, Barbados. In reply to Mr. D. Jones, Mr. Hare said that a request for technical advice in drawing up plans for a deep-water harbour had been met. The Colonial Secretary had discussed the question of financial assistance with the Premier of Barbados in February. It had then been agreed that for the time being the Colony had enough money to carry out the next stage of its development programme as planned. In order that the Barbados Government could go ahead with complete confidence, it had also been agreed that Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to provide further Colonial Development and Welfare assistance within the terms of the current Act of Parliament, if it later became clear that owing to the hurricane it would be impossible for the Barbados Government to carry out the agreed development plan without further help. (May 2nd.)

Franchise Proposals in Tanganyika. Mr. Arthur Skeffington asked if the Colonial Secretary was prepared to appoint a committee representing all races in Tanganyika to consider franchise questions for both central and local government elections in Tanganyika. Mr. Lennox-Boyd replied that the franchise in central government elections was one of the matters which would be studied by a committee to be set up in Tanganyika to consider the detailed proposals which the Government was putting forward for the inauguration of elections to the Legislative Council. The establishment and purpose of this committee, together with Government policy in regard to elections, were announced in the Governor's speech to the Legislative Council of 25th April, of which a copy was being placed in the library. Elections had not yet been held in accordance with the Rules laid before the Legislative Council in February of this year under the Local Government Ordinance. It would therefore be premature to appoint a committee to review local government franchise at the present time. (May 8th.)

Guide to Books . . .

A Wreath for Udomo

By Peter Abrahams (Faber and Faber. 15s.)

FOR Fabians with memories, to read this book is a nerve-racking experience. The characters are men and women we have known—composites, perhaps, not exactly identifiable, but living and speaking as we have known them in London, and then returning to Africa to organise, to lead, to carry the burdens of power and to suffer. For the British Fabians who assembled at the Clacton Conference of 1946, the discussion was urgent, but once-removed. For the Africans—Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Peter Abrahams—the central problems of action were posed, to be solved in their own lives and in their own continent. Similar problems face the main characters in Mr. Abraham's book and two of these men die, one, Mhendi, killed in rebellion against European domination of his country, the other Udomo, killed by the vicious tribalists of his own African state.

In the first half of the book, 'The Dream,' the dilemma is exposed against a Hampstead-Camden Town background of ardent African revolutionary nationalists and their English intellectual friends. 'It is not enough to hand over power to a few specially selected or particularly vociferous local individuals,' says the secretary of the colonial section of the Progressive Party at the crucial conference, 'our clear duty is to the masses of the colonial peoples rather than to a small and politically ambitious group of individuals. Let them join with us in the great task of preparing their people for the ultimate transfer of power.' The response to this unimaginative common sense comes from the Africans—academic from Lanwood, the London-based theoretician of colonial freedom: 'The one thing you people seem congenitally incapable of understanding is the question of freedom. There is no substitute for it. The colonial peoples are on the march . . . not in the direction of uplift, either economic or moral, but in the direction of freedom'—and passionate from Udomo: 'We will not fail! Even if there's a sea of blood! We will not fail!

In Panafrica, 'The Reality,' it is Udomo's passion that enables him to rouse the masses and to step from jail to ministerial office. Lanwood, the liberated intellectual, cannot face the facts of Panafrican life, is sick when Udomo's feet are bathed in blood at a meeting, and returns to London to die a disappointed and broken man. Udomo, the true revolutionary, is prepared to co-operate with the enlightened Governor who is determined to make self-government work, to seek foreign investment for the economic development which alone can sustain the social advance that he has promised the people, and to sacrifice his friend, Mhendi, in order to get it. In

the end, while not weakening in his aim of complete independence, he is inexorably driven into the Fabian compromise position he denounced in London, and for this it is he who is killed.

From this powerful novel, it is Udomo who emerges as the hero, the great man, perhaps, beyond good and evil. Yet he is tainted from the start. It is not the impossibility of taking her to Africa that causes him to leave his devoted English mistress, but a brutal abortion forced upon her younger friend by his infidelity. Though he weeps as he betrays Mhendi, he can still convince himself that it is his duty. If Mr. Abrahams had had more space at his disposal, he might have been able to paint a fuller picture of the people underneath. Were there no other men, not divorced from the masses by years abroad, who would have joined with Udomo to make universal franchise into democracy? Their absence from the book is not explained. As it stands, the only link between Udomo and the population is his oratory and drive. He has left himself no time to educate the people—in their presence, he has lived on easy slogans for too long. There is a root dishonesty there that almost justified the final killing.

So, after all, it is the colonial section secretary who wins the argument, and this leaves just a slight dissatisfaction with the book. Had the political forces in Panafrica been more fully analysed, there would surely have been a happier ending than this? But Mr. Abrahams has already given us three novels in one, and it is perhaps too much to demand a fourth.

Marjorie Nicholson

Transformation in Malaya

By J. B. Perry Robinson (Secker and Warburg. 18s.)

The author was a Government information officer during General Templer's regime as Malayan High Commissioner. He is a convinced and enthusiastic exponent of the value of British administration and of the importance of Malaya as 'a new type of nation which may transform the whole pattern of the twentieth century in Asia.'

It is hard to discover the basis of his optimism as he fails to examine the crucial question which faces Malaya, the need to create a nation. Some way has to be found whereby the Malays share their political and administrative predominance with the Chinese and the Malays, through improvements in agriculture and educational advancement, play a more equal part in the economic life of the country.

Mr. Robinson's description of the Japanese occupation and the role of the Malayan Communist Party

makes interesting reading and reminds us of the long experience of the communists in political organisation and jungle warfare. He breaks new ground in telling us of his first-hand experience of the organisation of surrendered rebels for psychological warfare and the broadcast he quotes describing the spiritual struggle of a Malay student makes a vivid story.

The author is convinced that the resettlement of the half-million Chinese squatters who provided food, money and information for the Malayan Communist Party is 'probably the most important item in the transformation of Malaya.' Recognition must be given to the enormous achievement of the Government in the organisation of the new villages and the provision of basic services, but there is also a risk that the segregation of the Chinese peasants from the Malay peasants may harden existing antagonisms. Mr. Robinson gives a detailed account of General Templer's integration of the three services, the police, the army and the civil administration. He believes that the experiment has a significance beyond the fighting of the Emergency and is a pioneer effort in the 'defence of under-developed communities against penetration and subversion.' But the insurrection continues, the number of guerrillas fighting the Government is about the same, the 'hearts and minds' of the people have still to be won.

Recent events indicate that the British Government has at last recognised that social and economic progress must be paralleled by the achievement of political independence if the insurrection is to be brought to an end.

H. S. C.

Naught for Your Comfort

By Trevor Huddleston (Collins, 12s. 6d.)

Father Huddleston, by this book and his speeches on the consequences of the 'white supremacy' doctrine of South Africa, has achieved a stirring of our consciences in Britain. His statement that South Africa should be expelled from the Commonwealth puts sharply into focus the importance of the issues at stake in the Union and the wide-spreading ill-effects on the rest of Africa of what is happening there.

Father Huddleston emphasises that white South Africans are no worse than the rest of us, but that

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they are moved by fear abetted by a very general ignorance of the way the Africans live in their locations and the terrible frustrations created by discriminatory laws. They are sensitive to criticism from Europe, but Father Huddleston maintains that protests made by himself and others inside South Africa have caused little concern.

If public opinion in this country could be sufficiently roused to make the United Kingdom Government express its dislike of South African policies, for example on the subject of South-west Africa, in the United Nations, the effect might be considerable. If, as has been suggested may happen, South Africa proposes a joint mandate with Britain over the High Commission territories, our rejection of any plan that means more South African influence over more Africans would make clearer than it has yet been our abhorrence of 'white supremacy.'

This first-hand account of life in the African areas of Johannesburg is a documentary which is essential reading.

Mary Winchester

Other Books Received

"The Future of East Africa: A Summary of the Report of the Royal Commission." (The Africa Bureau, 3s.) This has been written in simple and readable language in the hope it will reach a wide audience in East Africa and also in the United Kingdom.

"Two Centuries of Trade Unionism." (T.U.C., 1s. 6d.) A 60-page pamphlet outlining the history and development of trade unions in Britain.

"A B C of the T.U.C." (T.U.C., 6d.) Directed in particular to younger trade unionists and students, this pamphlet (25 pp.) describes the structure of the Congress and General Council and the principles on which they work.

"The Commonwealth Relations Office List, 1956." An Official Year Book. (H.M.S.O., 21s.)

● All books reviewed in our pages are obtainable from the Fabian Bookshop, 11, Dartmouth Street, S.W.1.

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